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Chancellor consolidates Saudi relationship

...ncellor Helmut Schmidt has suc...sfully completed his delicate mis... to Saudi Arabia. His talks with ... leaders have consolidated political ...conomic relations between the two ...ries.

...d he has also gained time on the ...oversial issue of the sale of Leopard ...s to Saudi Arabia.

...ler Schmidt did not commit West ...many to selling the Saudis arms, but ...subject remains on the agenda. ...n Prince Fahd said that there was ...ing which could affect economic re...ns between the two countries as no ...ial request for arms had been made to Bonn. Nonetheless Schmidt did discuss arms sales to Saudi Arabia when King Khalid visited Bonn in 1980 – although no detailed list of wishes was drawn up. However, Chancellor Schmidt then clearly underestimated the objections that would be raised to an arms deal with the Saudi Arabians.

Basically, the Saudis were anxious to save their face.

The Bonn government came to their aid here: on the one hand, Schmidt explained that difficulties at home stood in the way of the deal. On the other hand he said Bonn would examine in positive spirit the problems of such a deal. The question nonetheless remains of what would happen if Bonn finally vetoes the tank deal.

German firms are worried that they might have difficulties maintaining the present volume of business with Saudi Arabia.

Perhaps it was to prevent such developments that Chancellor Schmidt was not content in Riyadh merely to praise the Saudis for their sense of political responsibility.

Schmidt's statement on the PLO was not quite identical with the Saudi point of view, but came close to it. Schmidt added a definite personal note to the EEC declaration of last year on the Palestinian's right of self-determination: the Palestinians also had the right to form their own state, he said.

Schmidt did reaffirm that the Bonn attitude to the PLO would depend on its willingness to affirm Israel's right to exist and to safe and recognised borders. But this sounded rather perfunctory.

Chancellor Schmidt returned to Bonn convinced that the Saudis will do everything in their power to prevent a further oil price explosion. Indeed they even seem determined to persuade the high-price countries in Opec to reduce their prices to the Saudi level. For this something will have to be given in return.

The Chancellor said that the government would shortly be looking at tax rules governing Saudi Arabian investment in West Germany. And this will certainly not be to Saudi Arabia's disadvantage.

Reiner Dederichs

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 30 April 1981)



Chancellor Schmidt welcomed by King Khalid in Riyadh. (Photo: Poly-Press)

IN THIS ISSUE

Test of skill in Rome for Nato ministers

...he Nato foreign ministers will have ...to show great diplomatic skill at the ...conference in Rome if they are to ... a repeat of the embarrassing ...s at the meeting of the Nuclear ...ning Group in Bonn.

...e, American Secretary of State ...nder Haig is a more sensitive dis...ion partner than his colleague Ca... Weinberger, but the White House ...does not seem to have issued a bin... directive on negotiations with the ...t Union on medium-range nuclear ...les in Europe.

...owever, Haig said in Rome that the ...ed States is making efforts to begin ...s on arms limitation in Europe with ... Soviet Union this year. President ...gan had taken the initiative by ...ding a personal letter to Soviet Party ...f Brezhnev. Haig assured his Nato ...eagues that any talks would be within ... framework of the Salt agreement.

...onn is in the forefront of those who ...uld like to see negotiations starting ...n. Both the Social Democratic Chan...lor and the Free Democratic Minister ... Foreign Affairs, are under pressure ...m their respective parties.

...he USA will also have to learn to ...erstand that the countries in which ... new weapons systems are to be in...led have a vital interest in reducing ... Soviet threat.

...ot every statement in the parties ... negotiations are more important ... modernisation need necessarily be ...en as a violation of coalition solidari... The FDP's irritation with William ...n is unjustified. His resolution – un... that of the Young Democrats – does not question the Nato decision to modernise and negotiate as such.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher wants to quash Borm's initiative so that he can continue to point to the lack of solidarity shown by the SPD.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 30 April 1981)



American Secretary of State Alexander Haig (left) and Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher in Rome before the start of the Nato meeting. (Photo: dpa)

A matter of balance

Prime Minister Begin's fierce attack on Chancellor Schmidt has given a foretaste how Israel would react if Bonn sold weapons to Saudi Arabia. The delicate plant of German-Israeli relations, sensitive enough as it is, would be completely covered in frost.

On returning from his visit to Saudi Arabia, Chancellor Schmidt did no more and no less than repeat the joint EEC policy statement on the Middle East. He insisted on recognised and safe borders for Israel – which goes without saying.

But he also mentioned the problem of the Arabs made homeless by the founding of the state of Israel and by Israel's war successes. They too have rights and have made understandable demands.

This was all the Chancellor said. Yet a few hours later the Israelis described the Chancellor's statement as "shattering" and even accused Helmut Schmidt of anti-semitism.

Arms sales to the Arab world is a very sensitive subject on which all the Bundestag parties are divided. Advocates and opponents both have good arguments.

Heaven forbid, however, that rejection of the deal should be regarded as moral and going ahead with it as immoral.

This is precisely what the Israelis seem to want to do – describing opponents of the deal as friends and advocates as enemies of Israel.

Of course, the thought of German tanks being sold to Saudi Arabia is bound to enrage the Israelis.

On the other hand, an Israeli verbal onslaught against the Federal Republic of Germany would be inadvisable.

It would not only lack credibility but would also rebound on the Israelis, who under Begin have lost a great deal of their standing in the West.

Helmut Schmidt – an enemy of Israel and anti-semite? Who could possibly believe this nonsense?

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 4 May 1981)

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Wait-and-see by EEC on Turkish question

There is a spreading lack of understanding on both sides over the question of Turkey's full membership of the European Economic Community.

The EEC nations were prepared to show faith in Turkey, but now they are waiting, stopwatch in hand, for a return to democracy.

The European Parliament has voted to suspend negotiations for full community membership unless democratic conditions along Western lines are restored — within three months at the time of the vote last month.

When the vote was taken, two thirds of the Euro MPs had already left for the weekend. The remaining members voted to suspend negotiations by 51 to 45.

Though the effectiveness of the resolution is minimal (one diplomat compared it with similar resolutions passed by the UN) and though Western governments have already intimated that they will not be swayed by it, the wedge between Europe and its south eastern partner is being driven deeper and deeper.

Patience has worn thin, and May will see a decision on Turkey's continued membership in the Council of Europe — a body in which Turkey is represented by a delegation (unlike the European Parliament, where it has never had a seat).

Even if the Council of Europe points to its statutes whereby only democratic countries can be members, Ankara warns that it would regard an expulsion as a political rather than a legal act.

The consequences would be far-reaching and would isolate Turkey within Europe for many years to come.

But Turkish government circles are optimistic, convinced that (as in the case of France in 1958) the European Council will make a exception.

Ankara blames above all Europe's left socialists, communists and Greek government circles for the campaign now in progress against Turkey.

What is happening, Ankara circles say, is that these elements are trying to liken the Turkish military to the former Greek junta — though not very successfully. Turkey is concerned over the many delegations of European MPs who go to that country on fact-finding tours, spend a couple of days on the Bosporus (mostly sight-seeing) and then present their governments with complete situation analyses.

Turkish newspapers have repeatedly deplored the fact that many MPs change their minds while still airborne on their way home.

While telling their Turkish hosts on leaving (as in the case of Karsten Voigt and Corterier) that they have found a firm determination for a return to democracy throughout Turkey, on returning home they suddenly call for a critical review of future assistance to Turkey, saying that they suspected the military of tightening up still further.

Moreover, these "inspectors" from the West appear to be miffed because the rulers of today's Turkey steadfastly refuse to disclose their schedule for the future.

And even assurances by the generals that a constituent assembly would be summoned in the autumn to work out a new constitution that would provide a basis for elections have not allayed the apprehensions of the West.

For these MPs, the very term "military government" leads to psychological associations with torture and violations of human rights. Or, vice versa, how liberal can and indeed may a dictatorship be?

Nobody denies that there have been incidents of torture in the recent past. But by the same token nobody can claim that torture is part of the military junta's policy.

The government has obviously tried to punish officers who have been found guilty of such violations.

But this does not mean that all policy decisions of the Evren junta have been fortunate.

The fact that the former opposition leader Ecevit was barred from leaving the country to participate in a meeting of the Socialist International in Amsterdam of necessity led to speculation about a further tightening up in Turkey. The still somewhat unclear statements by Evren as to who would be barred from new elections (whether this would apply only to former top politicians or to the entire former parliament of 450) have also added to he confusion in Europe and given rise to rumours that the future "democratic government" would be puppets in the hands of the military.

Ankara's reply to Western demands for a rapid return to democracy is usually put in the form of a question: what democracy? The democracy of the past years with an average of 15 terror fatalities a day? Or that multi-party system in which the "democratic" parties made it impossible for each other to govern?

The military government chalks it up as a success that there are now "only" 25 fatalities a month.

But in 1978 that figure was cited as a sure way to the abyss of civil war.

The question is: is lip service to democracy as demanded by the Euro-MPs really what Europe should be after?

General Evren is determined to continue on his course and wipe out terrorism. If he succeeds he will be second only to Ataturk in his country's history. If he fails, the future of Turkey will remain shrouded in darkness.

Renate Flottau

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 3 May 1981)

Poland avoi[ds] cash crisis

Warsaw has avoided the wo[...] cash problems — for th[e time] being. It has negotiated a m[...] with 15 creditor countries. Thi[s ...] that DM4bn which would have b[...] for servicing this year is now [...] mediate burden.

It is possible that similar [...] ments will be made for 1982 a[...] as well.

Although credit deals with [...] Bloc involve private banks in th[e Fede]ral Republic of Germany, Bo[nn ...] helped bring about the morato[rium by] providing guarantees for the [...] which, of course, have to acco[...] shareholders for such major cred[its].

But for obvious reasons such [...] Bonn has never lost sight of th[e inter]play between the economic and t[he po]litical aspects of the negotiations [...] would certainly have been pleased [...] rescue action had been carried [...] some international institution al[ong the] lines of the IMF.

Such an institution could have i[...] ed certain economic terms w[ithout] being suspected of trying to exert [...] cal influence — and these terms [...] have had their effect on the Poli[sh go]vernment's relations with th[e ...] unions.

But for obvious reasons such a[n oth]erwise usual solution was unav[ailable] in this case.

Still, the Poles presented the We[st...] creditors with an addendum to the [...] ratorium that amounts to an econ[omic] blueprint aimed not only at p[...] credit-worthiness but also as a[...] nishment to all those grouping i[n Po]land that have a say in the nation'[s eco]nomic affairs.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 29 April [1981])

The old Roman tenet that, to preserve the peace, you must be prepared for war still holds true. Thus the attempt to deter a potential enemy by one's own military might is no nuclear age invention.

Weighing-up the effectiveness of the deterrent principle

But does history, with its principle dating back to the days of old Rome, not demonstrate the failure time and again of deterrent as a means of preventing military conflicts in Europe?

Yet the fact that in many of the more than 120 military conflicts since the end of World War II the United States and the Soviet Union were either directly or indirectly involved tends to confirm rather than disprove the effectiveness of the deterrent principle.

In none of these conflicts were any vital interests of the superpowers and their blocs seriously in jeopardy. And it is only in cases of such direct jeopardy that the deterrent principle can prove its worth or ineffectiveness.

For only in such a case does the threat with an arsenal carry the necessary credibility — an arsenal that also entails the danger of self-destruction.

Europe, the neuralgic point of the two power blocs, has thus so far been effectively protected from a military conflict.

The Persian Gulf region, which is vital to the Western industrial nations, has meanwhile become part of this system of deterrence.

But deterrence has no permanence. The very material basis of military potentials is subject to constant change. The balance of power between Nato and the Warsaw Pact is thus placed in jeopardy time and again.

The Salt process has stabilised the triad of the conventional, nuclear-tactical and strategic defence on which the strategy of Nato rests.

The superpowers have conceded to each other a strategic arsenal which — even in case of a nuclear surprise attack — guarantees the destruction of an aggressor.

The Soviet capability to deal a strategic counterblow which was instrumental in bringing about the Salt negotiations had earlier brought about a change in the Western defence strategy.

The high probability that any deployment of the strategic arsenal would entail self-destruction has stripped the former threat with massive retaliation for any type of aggression of its redibility.

The new adapted strategy of Nato now boils down to the principle of flexible response.

Ever since the introduction of this strategy in the 1960s, the principle has been to respond to a conventional attack on Nato territory by conventional means.

Should this remain unsuccessful, the use of tactical nuclear weapons is to demonstrate to the enemy that the Western Alliance is prepared to escalate the conflict. Only if this proves unsuccessful will strategic destruction ensue.

If this suicidal calculation is not to end in self-destruction it must have the credibility needed to prevent even a "conventional skirmish" that would be disastrous for Europe.

Deterrence is essentially an instrument with which to exert psychological influence — an instrument depending on effectively convincing the enemy that the threatened response will in fact materialise given certain circumstances.

This necessity that has been built into the system of institutionalised mistrust — a system in which the other side has to be convinced time and again that it can gain no advantage in terms of power politics — calls for reactions that might in fact not be necessary in terms of military tactics.

The root of America's hectic military build-up lies in the actual or imagined credibility gap and not in a military need to catch up.

This virtually uncontrollable psychological effect is also at the root of the dangerous instability of deterrent.

This should bring it home to u[s ...] deterrence alone does not repr[esent a] sound security policy. It only creat[es the] necessary scope for the realisation [of a] collective security system in which [there] is no room for suicidal options.

If we lose sight of this chance [in the] realm of security policy, the [...] defence capability could soon b[e called] into question.

Those who are to be protected, [the ci]tizens of Nato, could easily deman[d that] we forgo the protective shield p[rovided] by the deterrent system, saying [that] rapid technological progress pre[...] military balance of power anyway.

Siegesmund von Ilsema[nn]

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 22 April [1981])

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DEFENCE

Debate to clarify role of the Bundeswehr

[...] should be more public discussion [...] the role of the Bundeswehr, it was [...] following a debate by the Bonn [Defen]ce Ministry. After the debate, it [...] decided to reduce some of the more [...] aspects of swearing-in ceremonies [...] drop some traditions. One of the [...] heated debates surrounding the [Bund]eswehr was before the decision in [...] that the Federal Republic of [Germ]any should join the Atlantic Defen[...]ance. The ensuing calm was shat[tered] last summer in riots during a [swear]ing-in ceremony in Bremen. The [...] forces were seen as having a [...]acy crisis, not understanding their function and being unable to recon[cile] growing armaments with a policy [aime]d at peace and detente. Hence the [...]te.

[It] is only natural for a mammoth organ[isa]tion like the Bundeswehr, which [...] thousands of young people year [...] year and devours billions, to pon[der] its own position in society.

[Bu]t it would have been better if this [had] been done during or before the [Bun]deswehr's 25th anniversary.

[A]s it happens, many of the rioters [who] hurled stones during various swear[ing-]in ceremonies can now righteously [clai]m that they drew attention to alleged [shor]tcomings.

Of the 1,200 swearing-in ceremonies [in] the anniversary year (1980), 174 were [publ]ic *but only* 28 were ceremonious [enou]gh to be conducted with full military pomp and circumstance.

[Of] these 18 were disturbed by protesters, 12 of them massively.

[Th]e Bundeswehr ombudsman said in [his] last annual report that these figures [dem]onstrated the urgency of putting [the]se problems into perspective.

And it is perspective that is needed in [the] debate that the Defence Ministry re[cent]ly initiated — by decree so to speak.

The central theme of the debate is ["Sold]ier and Society". This includes such headings as: Bundeswehr service, [dem]ocratic consciousness and tradition. [The] whole thing, however, revolves [aroun]d "youth today". Yet there is no [such] thing as "the youth".

[A] bit of perspective would also have [been] useful when preparing the list of [thos]e invited to participate the list of [thos]e invited to participate in the [...]le.

[As] it happens, there are now 53 representatives of all socalled relevant social [grou]ps gathered around a round table to [hel]p Defence Minister Hans Apel puts [...] "contemplate standards, values and [attitu]des in Bundeswehr and society and [to] delve into the Bundeswehr's understanding of tradition within our dem[ocrac]y".

[Bu]t it will probably always remain a [...]t known only to the organisers [wha]t the woman representative of the [Germ]an Youth Sport Movement has to [con]tribute on tradition in the Bundes[wehr].

And why should the chairman of the [Cen]tral Council of German Jews concern himself with swearing-in cere[mon]ies considering that the 500,000-[ma]n Bundewehr has only a handful of [Jewi]sh officers at the very most?

[Ev]er since the Germans discovered [the] fascination of hearings, mass invita[tion]s have been the order of the day [i]n trying to unravel social problems.

But Apel's request not to hurl predigested resolutions and formulas at each other had to remain wishful thinking.

Though the chairman of the meeting, Klaus von Schubert, of the Bundeswehr Academy in Munich, prevented an out-and-out formula and cliché-slinging match, he was unable to do much more than call on the participants of the discussion to take the floor in the proper sequence.

He cited the ranking Bundeswehr general (Ret.), Gert Schmückle, who only a week earlier had said that the Bundeswehr had more important things to do than engage in a debate on tradition.

Of course, Schubert disagreed.

Schmückle's view that the Bundeswehr had more important things to do was brought to mind again when one participant after another raised the subject of the Defence Ministry's budgetary deficit or the worrisome shortage of NCOs, which are indeed major problems the Ministry has to battle with.

The trouble is that, apart from the known deficit, a wide range of new ones were thrown into the debate.

The participating representatives of organisations listed them — each from his own vantage point.

The chairman of the Jusos (young members' branch of the SPD), Willy Piecyk, complained that the circle of participants was still too small, saying that he missed secondary school and university students, young women and conscientious objectors who were doing civilian service and who had last year taken to the streets in protest.

It was largely agreed at the meeting that the shortcomings were due to past omissions — omissions which now imposed a burden on relations between Bundeswehr and society.

These omissions can be blamed on a wide range of sectors such as parental homes and schools, universities and societies and, ultimately, the Bundeswehr itself.

But none of this is new. The Bundeswehr has been a non-issue at most schools for a long time — and not only since the riots in connection with the swearing-in ceremonies.

The problems here can be summed up with ignorance on the overall security picture in the world, fear of an ever-growing destructive potential, romantic hopes pinned on détente and the contradiction that lies in the fact of world famine on the one hand and the global arms race with the attendant cost to society on the other.

It is all this that prompted the inspector-general of the Bundeswehr, Jürgen Brandt, and the political scientist, Thomas Ellwein, to say that the Bundeswehr, though accepted today as an institution, has identification problems so far as society is concerned and that there is widespread ignorance regarding its defence function.

General Brandt even went so far as to point to a hardening of the military and civilian fronts.

The growing scepticism among many young people as to whether our democracy is worth defending at all is not new.

Ever more young people have their doubts regarding the "guarantors' community for peace" which, according to General Brandt, the Bundeswehr has formed with the nation's citizenry.

But this is not new and should have been noted long ago.

Walter Hornstein, co-author of the Bonn government's last youth report, has this to say: "We are so much more familiar with our youth than politicians and administrators are prepared to admit."

And Manfred Schlenker, youth officer and Bundeswehr captain, put it in a nutshell when he said: "We talk too little."

Ekkehard Kohrs

(General-Anzeiger, 24 April 1981)

Swearing-in ceremonies for the Bundeswehr will in future not be as martial as they have been.

Nor will they be quite so public.

This is a result of the lifting of the "decree on traditions" which was issued in 1965.

Another upshot of the decision is that the names of past military figures will no longer be given to units, bases or naval vessels.

The decision was announced by the Defence Minister, Hans Apel, following a two-day debate on the Bundeswehr that he himself originated.

Herr Apel had much to listen to during the debate. It was up to him to draw his own conclusions, and he did exactly that.

Future public swearing-in ceremonies will no longer amuse or anger the public.

But this in itself has given rise to new disputes although the problems of the Bundeswehr go much deeper.

West Germany's armed forces have always had their difficulties with tradition because the only way of developing our military arm ten years after the end of the Second World War was to employ former Wehrmacht officers, which prevented a complete break with the recent past.

Falling back on Scharnhorst and Gneisenau was only a temporary bridging aid.

Lower profile for recruit ceremony

The only hope that remained in the constant dispute between the advocates of "right" and "wrong" traditions was that tension would be relieved by a natural aging process. And indeed, the Bundeswehr — as an army of draftees — has meanwhile developed a tradition of its own.

But this does not make for fences behind which the Bundeswehr can lead its own life undisturbed. On the contrary, the critical detachment with which the state, the political parties and politics in general are viewed by segments of our youth — and not only by them — does not stop short of the Bundeswehr.

There were fundamental debates on this country's defence policy 20 or 25 years ago, but not since then.

This is not the Bundeswehr's fault; but even so, its military and political leadership must not be surprised to find that our armed forces have to woo the public time and again for its faith and understanding.

Merely pointing out the Bundeswehr's function is not enough.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 25 April 1981)

Core of the problem

The debate on tradition in the Bundeswehr at the Bonn Defence Ministry came very close to the core of the problem: they agreed that our democracy was unable to cope with its contradictions and that its institutions, including the Bundeswehr, suffered from this.

Thus the problem is not, as Inspector-General Brandt suspected, the specific relationship — and a poor relationship at that — between the armed forces and society, but the identification problems in all sectors of public life in this country.

There is, however, one thing that is peculiar to the Bundeswehr: its security function, which has to do with both peace and conflict, cannot be put into a few brief formulas.

How many people understand that the function of the Bundeswehr and of Nato as a whole is to prevent a war? Especially in view of the fact that Washington and Moscow have adopted such tough language as to give the impression that the next war is at least not impossible.

Those sections of our young generation who make no bones about their dissatisfaction with the state and who question virtually every aspect of our democracy, therefore draw attention to the gross contradiction between the discussion on further armament and the already existing destructive potential on the one hand and the peace avowals on the other.

It is exactly here that politicians should become active. It is not the generals and not the draftees who can help solve the problem but only those who bear political responsibility in a democracy.

But they, too, are in a tricky position because they cannot prevent President Reagan's cabinet members from talking about strategies, weapons systems and conflict management rather than about the indisputable necessity to engage in a dialogue.

But it is important to point out in this context that the men in the Kremlin also give rise to doubts as to their willingness to cooperate — through their deeds more than through their words.

The Bundeswehr complains that sections of the public deny the peace function of its soldiers. But in doing so it should realise that it, too, shows anything but understanding for conscientious objectors and pacifists in general.

What matters therefore is for the two sides to respect each other. Much would be gained if this were done and there would be no need for the Bundeswehr to complain.

After all, all institutions of our democracy — more than ever before — have now come under a barrage of criticism, and it would be most unnatural if the Bundeswehr were exempted.

It is always better to speak about dissatisfaction than to suppress it. And this being so, the Bundeswehr should have the courage to admit the conflict it finds itself in.

Not all criticism questions its raison d'etre. And not everybody who is worried about Nato's modernisation decision and President Reagan's tough line is an opponent of armed forces per se.

We must also take into account that the international situation favours trends towards peace and that, by wanting to prevent a conflict, we should actually all be pacifists.

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 24 April 1981)

■ STATE SECURITY

Raids net firearms and neo-Nazi propaganda

Sixteen unregistered firearms and vast quantities of neo-Nazis propaganda have been seized by police in nationwide raids on the homes of 450 known militant right wingers.

The head of the criminal investigation department in a major German city was among the owners of the propaganda material.

The raid once more drew attention to a frequently underestimated danger. Thus, for instance, the Bavarian authorities long neglected and minimised the militant rightist *Wehrsportgruppe Hoffmann* (a paramilitary "sports" organisation). One thing is sure: What these young men played in the countryside near Nuremberg was certainly not a harmless cops and robbers game.

Instead, a clever ideologist took advantage of the ignorance of young people to pump their heads full of radical ideas.

But we must see things in perspective: the militants on the right (like their opposite numbers on the left) are no danger to our democratic system, but they are a danger to our internal security.

Last year, only 20,000 people belonged to a total of 75 militant rightist groups. But there is a hard core of militants who are increasingly prepared to commit acts of violence.

Seventeen people lost their lives as a result of terrorist action in 1980, 13 of them as a result of the bomb attack at the Munich October Festival; 204 people were wounded by guns or bombs.

A study commissioned by the chancellery gives the impression that these militants are only the tip of a neo-Nazis iceberg.

According to the study, 13 per cent of Germans of voting age subscribe to an extreme rightist ideology. But the methods used in the study are controversial and it is possible that the figures are not quite accurate.

But there are indisputable facts and they are alarming enough: 11 per cent of the respondents in the survey held unconditionally that there should be only one strong political party.

When asked whether they would want to see the nation headed by another "Führer", four per cent said yes; 10 per cent said "yes, conditionally". Eight per cent favoured labour camps to restore "discipline and order".

Surveys in other countries show a similar reservoir of extremists; and they, like the Federal Republic of Germany, simply have to live with these people.

Germany must also cope with the fact that many foreigners view expressions of this attitude as signs of a revival of Nazism. This is simply one of the legacies of our history.

It is up to our politicians to prevent these radical cadres from rallying spiritual or material support.

So far, the rightist terrorists are even more isolated than was the "Red Army Fraction" after the skyjacking of the Lufthansa jetliner and the assassination of industrialists Hanns-Martin Schleyer.

In any event, it is an oversim[…] tion to say, as is frequently do[…] terror from the left causes terr[…] the right and that the two group[…] each other into a frenzy.

The truth is that violence is a[…] the young as a drug helping them[…] cape an environment they consi[…] sufferable.

It enables them to project the[…] failures on to others. This applies[…] left and right.

If there is any way at all of st[…] right extremism and its ultimate[…] quence, terror, this can only be a[…] by a tedious and prottracted p[…] which young people are made to[…] home in our society.

The fact that the major parti[…] accusing each other of being b[…] the left or the right eye as the ca[…] be and of thus promoting the cau[…] other type of terrorism is no help[…]

Rudolf Grosk[…]

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 23 Ap[…])

'Deplorable reality'

There is no democratically minded German who would not be delighted if the Sinus Institute had made a mistake in its survey on right extremism in this country.

Thirty-six years after the end of the Hitler dictatorship with its mass murder, war and fascist barbarism, there are still supposed to be 13 per cent of German adults who subscribe to right extremists ideologies.

It is understandable that the spontaneous reaction of many people is: "It can't be true."

But it is wrong and dangerous to brush the survey aside with the remark that the publication of such a seemingly unbelievable figure is an "insult to our nation."

Such sweeping attacks by the CDU make it only more difficult to start a sensible discussion on the report and the conclusions to be drawn from it.

The study must not become a bone of contention in a political tug-of-war and be ignored by those who find that it does not fit their current concept — a concept that can be summed up as follows: the real danger is not from the right but from leftist quarters, terrorists and Communists.

The findings of the Institute are at odds with such a theory.

Still, surveys must be taken with a pinch of salt. But even so, the Sinus study is far superior to some dubious surveys aimed only at proving the popularity of a politician and the election prospects of a political party.

The Sinus researchers, whose b[…] and qualifications are beyond q[…] spent more than a year compil[…] study.

Not only did they evaluate m[…] pamphlets, magazines and books[…] also interviewed neo-Nazis symp[…] at great length, recording these i[…] 160 hours worth of tape. In a[…] they spoke to close to 7,000 Ger[…] a much larger number than cu[…] in similar polls.

One of the findings is parti[…] important: the typical right ext[…] *weltanschauung* is not only rooted i[…] wish for an authoritarian Führers[…] is also marked by a pronounced ha[…] people who hold different view[…] rebellious youngsters, foreigners and[…] ual minorities.

Statements to that effect which[…] of us encounter constantly in our[…] to-day lives make it obvious even[…] layman that the Sinus figures re[…] deplorable reality in our country.

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 23 Apri[…])

Mixed reaction to proposed anti-extremist law

The CDU/CSU opposition says the new draft legislation Bonn Justice Minister Jürgen Schmude (SPD) intends to put forward to combat right extremism is one-sided.

CDU/CSU legal affairs spokesman Benno Erhard said in a radio interview that there was no need for new legislation as an instrument with which to fight right extremism.

"It is hard to see why certain books like Hitler's *Mein Kampf* should be permitted to be published abroad but not in Germany," he said.

Any such legislation was one-sided unless the same provisions were made against left extremism as well.

It is always bad in politics, Herr Erhard said, to be "blind in the one eye and eagle-eyed in the other."

CDU politicians said they were sceptical about a recent survey that claims that 13 per cent of voting age Germans have a "complete right extremist *weltanschauung*."

Erhard said that the wish for a strong state was equally pronounced among right and left extremists.

The survey substantiates its findings on right extremism with a number of figures. Sinus, the institute that carried out the study which was commis[…] by the chancellery, rejects an accu[…] by Schleswig-Holstein's Interior Mi[…] Uwe Barschel who said that the pu[…] tion of this figure (the 13 per cen[…] "an insult to our nation" as long a[…] institute did not also publish the[…] questions, definitions and method[…] in the survey.

But the institute said it would co[…] with Barschel's wishes.

It did so by disclosing that the f[…] of 13 per cent right extremists inc[…] only those of the 6,968 people of v[…] age who "approved of essential e[…] of right extremist ideas."

Barschel's contention that rig[…] tremists get less than one per ce[…] the popular vote in elections was[…] tered by the institute by pointing[…] milar surveys in Britain where sym[…] sers of right extremism account f[…] per cent of the voting-age po[…] compared with only one per cent[…] popular vote going to these group[…]

According to Sinus, extremist[…] do not want to waste their v[…] therefore do not give it to gro[…] their ilk that stand no chance[…]

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 2[…])

PEOPLE

Karl Schiller, former 'super minister', remains a devout Keynesian

[K]arl Schiller, the man who made a spectacular resignation in 1972 as [Bon]n's economic affairs and finance [min]ister, is not quite out of politics.

[H]e was included in Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's delegation to Saudi Arabia to advise on credit and arms deals.

[T]he advice of the former "super minister," who is now 70, is valued not only [by] the Chancellor, but by the Saudi [Arab]ians.

[Y]et the very policy that made Schiller popular in his time — he is a Keynesian and a keen believer in the global [steer]ing of economic policies — is now [un]der fire more than ever before.

And today he maintains his Keynesian beliefs.

Schiller said some time ago, not with[out] bitterness, that: "We here in the [Fe]deral Republic of Germany are at a [los]s about what to do with people who [ha]ve resigned (from politics) because of [the]ir convictions."

After his spectacular resignation in [Ju]ly 1972 there was much to indicate [tha]t the professor of economics was [him]self at a loss as to what to do.

He went from advisory post to advisory post, counselling a South African [to]bacco billionaire one day and an automobile maker another.

He resigned from the SPD and joined [th]e *CDU and* then, disgruntled, he turn[ed] in his CDU card and became an SPD [mem]ber again.

[H]is separation from his third wife, […]a (of whom many political observers [i]n Bonn say that she was partly responsible for his zig-zagging), made headlines.

Short-live attempt at political comeback

But the confusion and wavering now [se]em to be very much in the past.

Only a year ago, he almost made a [po]litical comeback in the state legislature election in the Saarland. But it did[n't] work after all and he now lives a [rat]her withdrawn life with his fourth [wif]e in Jesteburg in the Lüneburg [He]ath.

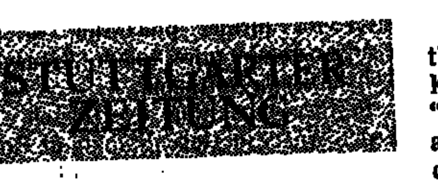
[It] was Schiller who, by boosting [dem]and through government measures [at] the cost of public sector indebtedness, [m]anaged to pull the German economy [ou]t of its first severe post-war recession.

Only 18 months after assuming office, [he] announced in May 1968: "We faced [th]e crisis, and the crisis blushed and [lo]wered its eyes."

Neither Schiller himself nor any of [hi]s successors managed to repeat this [fea]t.

But in the end the grand magician of [th]e Grand Coalition foundered on the [re]sistance of his fellow cabinet members [an]d his party's MPs when he attempted [to] repeat the trick in reverse during a [bo]om period. The idea was to make the [ec]onomy kick its addiction to the "col[lec]tive drug inflation" through a public [se]ctor austerity programme. He met with [si]milar resistance to his monetary pro[gr]amme.

In 1972, when foreign exchange flow[ed] into the country as a result of the [do]llar crisis, Bundesbank President



Karl Klasen and then Chancellor Willy Brandt contemplated administrative foreign exchange controls to help them take the autumn 1972 election hurdle.

But Schiller, who was determined to teach the nation a thing or two about market economy, refused to go along, and he resigned.

The professor, who has never been particularly thick-skinned, preferred to be proved right as an economist rather than chalk up a short-lived victory as a politician.

But his apolitical steadfastness and his mimosa-like sensitivity that earned him the nickname "the SPD's Maria Callas" were responsible for his finding himself out in the cold.

The left accused him of favouring business because he countered the call for a democratisation of business by demanding "democracy of the market"; and the right labelled him an economic steering mechanism engineer who pinned his faith on the political steering of the economy and growth rather than on the recuperative forces of the market economy.

Having thus found himself between the fronts, Schiller tried to spread the Keynesian message through the socalled "Freiburg imperative" (the principles of a liberal market economy based on competition as formulated by Walter Eucken, Ludwig Erhard and Alfred Müller-Armack). But the day-to-day political tug-of-war whittled this down to mere rudiments.

Today, the professor whose intelligence matches his eloquence presents himself as a dyed-in-the-wool Keynesian when faced with the question whether the old recipes are still applicable.

His principle that the label of "market economy" must not serve as an excuse for economic thumb twiddling remains his lodestar.

Even so, he is reluctant to promulgate conventional economic booster programmes for today's ills.

As opposed to "his" recession of the 1960s, Schiller's diagnosis of today's problems is not that production capacities are inadequately used, but that the oil price crises and changed conditions of competition in international trade and the problems that go with them are such as to preclude short-term solutions.

But this, he argues, does not mean that the old instruments belong to the junk heap of economic history.



Karl Schiller
(Photo: Sven Simon)

Should we slither into a deep and protracted recession, says Schiller, we would have to summon the courage once more to step on the economic gas pedal.

There can be little doubt that economic policy making has become more tenuous since Schiller withdrew from the economic show business.

His linguistically creative imagination and his intellectual ability to convince helped make economics accessible to a broad public rather than just the inner circle of experts.

Today it is hard to imagine that — as in 1971 — a whole nation would heatedly discuss the necessity and attendant dangers of exchange rate adjustments as if they involved bargaining over higher wages.

Uwe Vorkötter

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 24 April 1981)



Herbert Schmülling
(Photo: Sven Simon)

Schmülling's seldom-trod route to press job with FDP

It is unusual for a relatively young and high-ranking civil servant to become a political party's press officer. But this is what has happened to Herbert Schmülling who succeeds Josef Gerwald for the FDP.

Schmülling is a senior official of the Bonn Interior Ministry, only two rungs below a state secretary.

He carries his 44 years well and looks much younger. His friendly, unflappable air is one of his most attractive features.

Schmülling is bound to have had his reservations when FDP Chairman Hans-Dietrich Genscher approached him and it is certainly not his intention to end his career in the service of the party.

He can be relieved of his duties as a civil servant. The civil service regulations do not permit this indefinitely, though exceptions have been made on occasion in favour of all parties.

Schmülling was a young law graduate when he more or less fell into politics and the parliamentary machinery.

The FDP needed somebody to assist MP Moersch in a 1967 enquiry committee on possible irregularities in connection with the Bundeswehr purchase of the HS30 tank.

But it so happens that inquiry committees find fault with the goverment only if they have no option.

It was the time of the Grand Coalition (between CDU/CSU and SPD) when the FDP was but a tiny opposition party in Parliament; and it was this small FDP that promulgated the inquiry committee.

This tiny opposition had a tough time on the committee though it was this very committee that signalled the change of government and an SPD-FDP coalition.

When the committee's work was completed in mid-1968, Schmülling was appointed the personal assistant of MP Hans-Dietrich Genscher, then the parliamentary secretary of the FDP.

In fact, this post had only just been introduced as part of parliamentary reforms.

The job was hardly something Schmülling (who had meanwhile joined the FDP) considered his ultimate aim.

However, when the change of government came and the opposition MP Genscher became a cabinet member, Schmülling stood by the minister and became his press officer in 1970.

Although he assumed his post in the wake of a new minister (not an easy thing in a well set up administrative machinery) he soon became popular among his colleagues.

In 1970, Gehrhardt joined as press assistant.

Then came 1974 with its reshuffle: Brandt resigned and was succeeded by Schmidt while Scheel became president and Genscher foreign minister.

But Schmülling — evidently in agreement with Genscher — remained at the Interior Ministry, first under Maihofer and than under his successor. Gerhart Baum.

In 1978 he became the deputy head of the Internal Security Department.

The post of FDP press officer, though seemingly inconspicuous, is more significant than the same post at the SPD with its cohesive ideology and also than its counterpart at the CDU with its somewhat uncertain leadership.

Schmülling's predecessor Gehrwaldt was readily listened to by the party chairman and was frequently considered his voice.

But the question is: will Herbert Schmülling enjoy a similar position and, ultimately, will he wish to hold such a position?

Friedrich Karl Fromme

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 18 April 1981)

■ INDUSTRY

Chief of ailing steel company in desperate battle for support

The Dortmund-based steel concern, Hoesch-Estel, is like a lame sheep that has been abandoned by the herd and is being stalked by the wolves, according to its chairman, Detlev Rohwedder.

After barely a year of learning the ropes in the new job — a year in which he has made mistakes as he admits — Rohwedder now *finds himself fighting it* out on two fronts simultaneously.

He has convinced his workers (who recently, during a protest demonstration, chanted: "Faith or no faith, Rohwedder provides no basis any more") that "a steel mill now" (a worker's slogan) cannot be realised and even less paid for.

Constantly shuttling back and forth between Bonn, Düsseldorf and Brussels, Rohwedder, former state secretary at the Bonn Economic Affairs Ministry, is desperately trying to raise credit, guarantees or government subsidies for his company.

Detlev Rohwedder
(Photo: Sven Simon)

In Nijmegen, Holland, the administrative headquarters of the German-Dutch steel company Estel, he has had to summon all the diplomatic skill learned during his Bonn years to convince the Dutchmen that the Dortmund company stands no chance of survival without approval for a steel plant.

And indeed, the destiny of the traditional steel base of Dortmund hinges on this mill. Meanwhile, Chancellor Schmidt and North Rhine-Westphalia's Prime Minister, Johannes Rau, *as well* as opposition leader Kurt Biedenkopf, have lent their support to the project.

Even the German-Dutch steel marriage, which is marked by marital tiffs, ultimately depends on the mill.

In Dortmund, however, there are more and more voices calling for a divorce. But without "mother" Estel, which is contract-bound to honour the ridiculously high losses of the Dortmund mill, Hoesch would be unable to survive unless the state jumped into the breach with billions worth of subsidies.

But the Dutch, whose coastal steel mill still made some profits in the past few years, find it increasingly hard to support the German spouse. To make matters worse, mutual mistrust adds to marital problems.

By now it is no longer only the embittered steel workers in Dortmund who suspect that the Dutchmen's ulterior motive has been to reduce the steel base from the very beginning.

"All they want is to sell us their crude steel for further processing — and charge excessive prices to boot," is a widely held view in Dortmund.

Further processing by Hoesch, the Feder Works in Hohenlimburg or Rothe Erde Schiedag still makes profits in the Hoesch group.

At a recent demonstration, steel workers carried a placard reading: "You must be sick, Dutchmen; Plan for Holland, not for our country." The workers made a point of sticking the placard into a window of the boardroom while a meeting was in progress.

There are signs of disintegration in the Estel marriage. For the first time in the eight years since the wedding the Dutch are no longer prepared to make up for a portion of the Hoesch losses. Instead they demand that Hoesch sell some of its real estate and so plug at least the worst of the holes.

Last year, the Dutch government gave Hoogovens, the Dutch Estel partner, a 350m guilder credit, specifically stipulating that the money may only be invested in Holland.

The extensive rehabilitation programme for the Dortmund steel mills now for the first time contains a principle which the Dortmunders view as a departure from the trans-national Estel idea. This is the idea that the new construction of a steel mill in Dortmund presupposes that the Dortmunder Hüttenwerke can finance the project without endangering the liquidity of the group as a whole.

The atmosphere in German-Dutch cooperation is being poisoned still further by the poor state of the steel business and the tug-of-war over subsidies between the EEC countries.

The longer Bonn's economic [...] minister refuses to subsidise the Ge[...] steel industry and thus follow the Fr[...] Italian, Belgian and British exampl[...] more the cracks that keep develop[...] the Estel edifice.

For the Dutch government, [...] ovens is a matter of national prestig[...] will therefore be kept going no [...] what. But for Bonn, Hoesch is only [...] of five problem children.

The European steel crisis, shoul[...] nationalisation of the Europea[...] policy progress still further, could [...] drive the wedge between Hoesch [...] Hoogovens even deeper.

The Dutch thus have every reas[...] argue that they would be fooli[...] channel their subsidies into the b[...] less pit of Dortmund.

On the other hand, North [...] Westphalia's Labour Minister [...] member of the Hoesch super[...] board) Friedhelm Farthmann [...] said at a board meeting, referri[...] public sector assistance for Hoesch[...] somebody wants money from p[...] coffers he cannot expect to get it fo[...] vestments that would secure jo[...] Holland. That would be an impo[...] on the German taxpayer."

The Estel marriage is thus bein[...] dermined by the conflicting need[...] European steel policy and the lesse[...] igencies of individual companies[...] balance sheets and fears for job sec[...] and by rekindled prejudices and c[...] images of the "capitalist Dutchmen" [...] the Germans who — peacefully [...] time — want to invade the Dutch [...] base.

In all this confusing economic [...] political tug-of-war, Detlev Rohwe[...] continues to carry his heavy burden, [...] ven by the ambition "to walk thr[...] Dortmund with his head high o[...] more."

But be it with or without Estel - [...] achieve this Dortmund would ha[...] have another steel mill by 1990 a[...] latest.

Frank [...]

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntag[...] 26 April 19[...])

BUSINESS

Brewers' droop: how to pass on rising costs to a not-so-thirsty nation

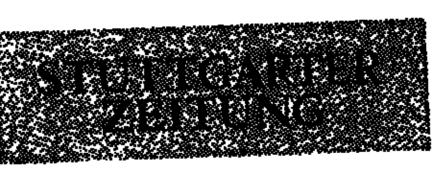
[F]or the first time since 1976 the Germans upped their beer consump[tion] last year.

[I]n 1979, every German consumed sta[tist]ically 145.1 litres of beer compared [wit]h more than 150 litres in 1976. But [last] year, average consumption rose again [sl]ightly to 145.7 litres.

The Germans, world champions in [beer] drinking, seem to have pulled up [the]ir socks in a bid to defend their title. [But] there is no sign of optimism among [the] brewers.

Statistics are deceptive.

Disregarding infants and children who [are] non-drinkers and applying the 92.3m [hec]tolitres the nation quaffed last year [onl]y to the "drinking population" (this [is] the brewers' jargon for Germans over [1]5), consumption declined against 1979 [b]y two litres per person and a per capita [con]sumption of 176 litres.



ed, the brewers realise that they will not be able to pass on even a fraction of the increased production cost.

Alfred H. Götz of *Stuttgarter Hofbräu AG* says that price increases this year are out of the question while Immo Lammich of *Dinkelacker AG* is convinced that at least some part of the additional cost will have to be passed on to the consumer.

But what might be relatively easy in the catering industry becomes a major problem when it comes to negotiating with the retail trade.

Discount chains in particular have long made beer one of their most attractive "come-ons" for customers, and they are using their strong position as a customer to virtually blackmail the brewers in price negotiations.

The brewers are almost defenceless. Increasing mergers, in the retail trade finds the brewers, especially in southern Germany, operating with the typical range of medium sized business.

As a result, small local and regional breweries in rural areas find it almost impossible to cope with the retail trade's aggressive buying policies. Their alternatives are either to sell their beer to cash and carry outlets at a price barely covering cost and thus lower the reputation of their brand name products to the status of standard beer; or to refuse to work with discount chains. If they did this, the chains would spoil their business by pushing cheap brands.

A number of medium sized breweries have already buckled under this fierce competition by leaning on large brewing concerns. The result is that, after a transition period, the major concern usually decides to discontinue operations in its smaller subsidiary.

Of the 300 breweries Baden-Württemberg had in 1960, about one-third have ceased operations. And nobody knows how many of the remaining 205 keep above water be selling real estate or by falling back on their pubs and farms.

On the other hand, the smaller private breweries have proved time and again that they have an edge over the large concerns when it comes to slipping into a market gap.

The many specialty breweries making such regional beers as *kölsch* or *alt* have not been heard to complain about profits — and the same goes for the small and aristocratic club of "premium" beer brewers.

They have managed to impart their products with an exclusive touch which set them apart.

The big concerns, ranging from *Oetker* to the *DUB-Schultheiss* are now imitating their smaller counterparts with varying degrees of success.

But other medium sized breweries which are not part of the "premium club" are also convinced that they must not necessarily prostitute themselves by producing cheap beer. Their answer is to combine the traditions of the trade with modern marketing methods.

They argue that the German beer market is far from being a national market. They hold, that it consists of numerous local and regional markets where consumers have differing tastes and abhor anything that might be called a uniform national beer.

Younger generation moderates decline

In 1976, the "drinking Germans" con[su]med an average of 191 litres. And it is [on]ly the up-coming generation of the [hig]h birthrate years that has prevented [th]e decline in beer consumption from [be]ing *even more* dramatic.

[Bu]t in the mid-1980s at the latest the [...] will take its effect on the beer [mar]ket unless drinking habits change [dra]stically.

Nobody believes that they will, al[tho]ugh researchers and economists fore[cas]t healthy growth rates for the next [fe]w years.

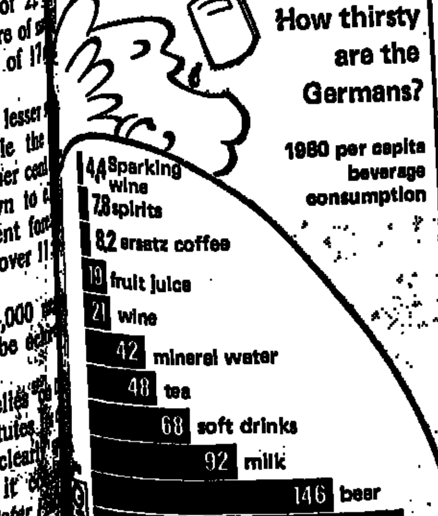
But the breweries are unlikely to prof[it]. On the one hand, growing health [con]sciousness and the widespread fear [am]ong motorists of having that third [bee]r have boosted the consumption of [sof]t drinks and fruit juices. Moreover, [spa]rkling wine is advancing as a seller [alo]ng the whole line.

But it is not only sales that trouble [bre]wers. One of their biggest headaches [is] cost.

Hops rose by 40 per cent last year, [an]d the cost increase for energy is simi[lar], while bottles and other packaging [mat]erials rose by about 15 per cent [aga]inst 1979.

Even though the next round of price [inc]reases for beer are already programm-





American marketing will be an advantage

On the other hand, the world's largest brewing concern, America's *Anheuser-Busch* has other views.

As of the end of April, the American brewers want to start making a German beer under licence, using American raw materials. The beer is to be brewed by the Berlin *Kindl* brewery which is part of the *Oetker* group.

It is most unlikely that *Anheuser-Busch*, whose output equals 63 per cent of Germany's total beer production, will restrict the experiment to the Berlin market.

Though the Americans don't know much about beer, they do about marketing: McDonalds, for example.

Uwe Vorkötter

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 18 April 1981)

Costlier coffee on the way despite competitive market

Prices on the German coffee market are poised to start moving upwards.

The only questions are who will start it, which and by how much.

The big chains like *Tschibo*, *Eduscho* and *Albrecht*, which are free to determine the retail price, are ready for the offensive while packers like *Jacobs*, *Hag-GF* and *Melitta*, who supply the grocery trade, are keeping a wary eye on each other.

In view of the competition that has become even tougher as a result of the equity deal between the American *General Foods* concern and the Bremen-based *Hag AG*, nobody dares to take the first step.

Coffee experts are sure that the firm conditions on international markets will continue for the next few months. There is no likelihood of prices going down despite the large new harvests.

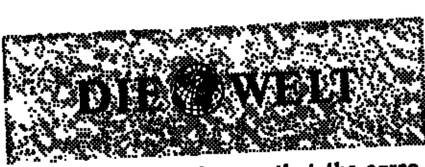
Brazil, the world's largest producer, is likely to come up with an output of an additional 14m sacks and surpluses are likely in the years to come. In fact, there is much to indicate that the international coffee market is entering a phase of stockpiling.

Agreement stops glut from taking effect

The fact that the glut has not affected prices is due to the September 1980 coffee agreement and the brake it put on prices.

The only uncertainties that could arise in the next few months could be due to the inhability of producers to set new export quotas by September.

Prices would be bound to tumble without the coffee agreement. As a re-



sult, the business is sure that the agreement will be continued despite the fierce tug-of-war over quotas.

For the German market, this means a further stabilisation of prices. The agreement, with its global price controls (which become effective immediately when prices go down and which are slow to act when they go up), puts German roasters at a disadvantage inasmuch as German consumers are only interested in top quality.

The present system of global and non-selective quotas leads to disproportionately high prices for the best quality.

Seen in this light, price increases are bound to come soon. And the consequences to the market as a whole are wide open.

On the German market, which grew by four per cent in 1980, the tough tug-of-war over prices has raised much dust in the past few years but has brought little change in the final analysis.

The half dozen or so major suppliers have held their positions as have the many regional specialists.

The market has been dominated for years by *Tschibo* and *Jacobs* who have cornered about 50 per cent, followed by *Aldi* (13 per cent), *Eduscho* (12), *Hag-GF* (7) and *Melitta* (4.5).

Efforts by producers and the consumer countries to dampen excessive price fluctuations on raw coffee markets are likely to shift the competition to other focal points.

Given the present supply and marketing structure, the price will continue to play an important role in the struggle for market shares, but market strategy will gain in importance.

The development on the coffee market is similar to that of beer and cigarettes. It is divided into segments — be it according to quality, taste or marketing channels.

Roasters who have no well-established brands in the various market segments are unlikely to survive in the long run.

Those, on the other hand, who have specialised will find the German market worthwhile.

In terms of volume, Germany ranks second only to the United States, accounting for sales worth close to DM8bn.

And since the market is likely to continue to grow at an annual rate of two to four per cent, no supplier will be prepared to put up with losing his share of the market.

The consumer will of course benefit from this though competition — a competition which, in the past, was a war of annihilation.

Jan Brech

(Die Welt, 15 April 1981)

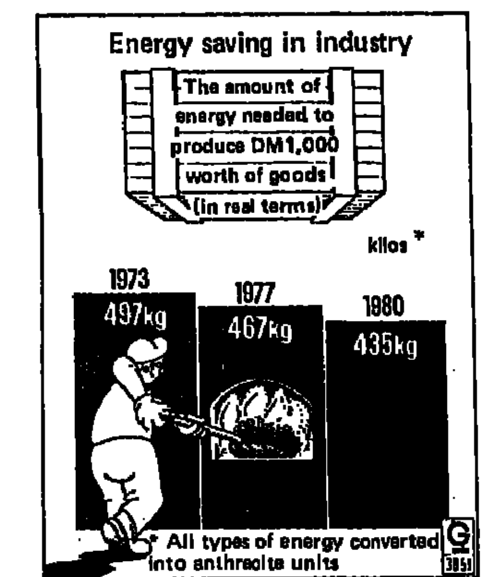
Coal to make a comeback; slower rise in overall energy use predicted

Coal will play a much greater energy role in the 80s than it was previously thought. And by 1990 it will account for just under one-third of the Federal Republic of Germany's primary energy consumption.

The importance of petroleum and nuclear energy will on the other hand, diminish, says the Third Projection of the Energy Programme to be presented by Bonn after the summer recess. Preliminary work is in progress at the Bonn Economic Affairs Ministry.

Energy consumption would rise more slowly than had been assumed.

One of the reasons lies in economic growth rates that will be lower than forecast; and another in the success of efforts to reduce the use of energy through rationalisation.



The shift in the relative importance of coal, petroleum and nuclear energy for the overall energy supply of the nation, as shown in the third projection, is in keeping with Bonn's intention to reduce the dependence on oil and shift priorities to locally available coal while continuing to develop nuclear energy on a limited scale.

In the light of past experience with forecasts the following is likely to happen: the share of individual primary energies in the total consumption will shift still further in favour of coal, and overall energy consumption in the next few years will be lower than hitherto assumed.

The consumption projections with which research institutes have been commissioned by the Bonn government are based on the development of economic growth.

According to current government data, the annual growth rate until 1985 will be 3.1 per cent, diminishing thereafter to 2.9 per cent until 1990.

The 1977 Second Projection of the Energy Programme was based on government data providing for a growth rate of four per cent until 1985 and 3.5 per cent thereafter until 1990.

But it is not only the diminished growth rate that is responsible for the anticipated drop in energy consumption. Another factor here is the smaller "elasticity coefficient".

The coefficient provides information on the interplay of economic growth and energy consumption.

Between 1960 and 1973 the coefficient was one to one: one per cent growth — one per cent more primary energy consumption.

The latest projection anticipates a coefficient of 0.83 per cent in 1985 and 0.54 per cent in 1990. But coefficients of 0.32 and 0.41 for the periods in question are considered possible.

In view of the development of economic growth and the elasticity coefficient, the anticipated primary energy consumption for 1985 is 432 million tons of anthracite units and for 1990, 458 million tons. That is 50 million tons (more than 10 per cent) and 82 million tons (14 per cent) respectively less than anticipated in the previous projection.

The same decline in consumption applies to other types of primary energy. Petroleum consumption in 1985 wil[l be] 108 million tons of anthracite units [and] for 1990, 177 million tons.

The relevant figures four years [ago] were 223 and 226 million tons respecti[vely].

The proportion of oil in 1990 wil[l be] just under 40 per cent while coal [will] account for just under one-third, co[rre]sponding to 158 million tons of anth[ra]cite units.

The last projection spoke of 22 [per] cent for coal in 1990. The share of [natu]ral gas will retain its position of 17 [per] cent.

Nuclear energy will play a lesser [role] than hitherto assumed. While the [se]cond projection spoke of 10 per cent [for] 1985, this figure is now down to [...] per cent. And the 16 per cent for[ecast] for 1990 is down to slightly over 11 [per] cent.

The formerly assumed 24,000 [mega]watt in 1985 will now not be ac[hieved] until 1990.

Although Bonn largely relies [on] calculations of research institutes [for en]ergy consumption, it will clear[ly ...] out which primary energy it c[onsiders] desirable.

Heinz-Peter [...]

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 21 A[pril ...])

AVIATION

Work on airport halted by court order



The Bavarian Administrative Court has ordered a halt to the building of the new Munich airport in Erdinger Moos.

But this decision does not kill the project. A decision on its legality will be made by the Munich administrative court, on May 27.

De facto, the court has merely banned the immediate implementation of the project. Opponents of the project had sought injunctions not only against it but against its immediate implementation.

Injunctions against implementation are clearly an important legal weapon — otherwise builders could present courts with accomplished facts and the courts would be forced to give their reluctant retrospective approval.

Flughafen München GmbH, in which the Land of Bavaria has a 51 per cent share, the Bonn government 26 per cent and the city of Munich 23 per cent — was fair-minded, or perhaps clever enough to await the ruling of the Munich Administrative Court.

This court confirmed that construction work could begin on 31 October 1980. Building started on 3 November. But the Bavarian Administrative Court has overruled approval for implementation.

Surprisingly, the Bavarian Court did not simply ban further construction work. It also — in a "provisional summary of the reasons for its rulings" gave the Munich Court a clear hint. After praise for the Bavarian government, it says: "The project will nonetheless probably have to be cancelled."

This prophecy is supplemented by the following speculation: "If our view should also be that of the administrative court in the main case, the Bavarian government can decree a new project."

Equally surprising is the court's view of the arguments for and against the project. The court approved — though in rather tortuous formulations — of the choice of frequently fog-bound Erlinger Moos as the site of the airport. It said there were no serious objections in principle to this site. Nor did any other site seem to have more pressing claims.

The court praised the Bavarian government forinvolving the citizens of Bavaria in consultation and discussion procedures far beyond the legally prescribed minimum.

The Bavarian authorities had to cope with five thousand objections. Indeed, the problem of accommodating the objectors during the inquiry was more exacting than the interchange of arguments. Was not the inquiry procedure reduced to absurdity? The Bavarian authorities accepted it. In the end it was able to do what it wanted after all, as the inquiry essentially ruled in its favour.

The court said that the Munich airport plan was the "largest conceivable maximum." Adjectives such as megalomaniac and gigantic immediately spring to the mind of any unprejudiced observer of the project. The court said that the airport planners had no less in mind than competing with Frankfurt Airport, the country's biggest. The planned new Munich airport would have an even greater capacity than Frankfurt.

It was asked why West Germany needed two intercontinental airports, especially as Munich-Riem has a wide range of connections with Europe and the Middle East.

The answer to this was that Bavarian industry needed a boost. What airport advocates significantly failed to mention was that passengers flying from Munich had two options to choose from as stopover points: Frankfurt and Zurich.

The court found that there was no justification for the size of the planned airport, referring to the as-yet-unpublished detailed judgement.

Bavarian Land government was shocked by the court's criticism of the Bavarian Minister of Transport and Industry Jaumann. It said that he, as minister of industry, influenced the project — which, as a member of the supervisory board of Munich Airport company he had no right to do.

Conflict of loyalties argument rejected

This is a shot from an unexpected direction. Herr Kopf, one of the airport opponents' lawyers, has several times criticised such cases of people holding posts which theoretically involve a conflict of loyalties, but his arguments have generally just been shrugged off.

Jaumann has since declared that he is prepared to give up his post on the supervisory board.

There is agreement between the Bavarian government and the court that Munich Riem airport should be closed.

However even an airport smaller than originally planned would be big enough to destroy the austere beauty of the Erdinger Moos.

Another aspect: perhaps the politicians are not so sorry after all if the court forces them to cut some of their generous provisions for the airport.

Roswin Finkenzeller

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 23 April 1981)



Fieseler today. Behind, his legendary Stork aircraft, this one housed in Munich's German museum. (Photo: dpa)

Survivor from pioneering epoch

Gerhard Fieseler, who has turned 85 is one of the few aviation pioneers still alive. He is most famous for designing the world's first slow aeroplane. It is not quite as well-known, however, that hedesigned the V1 Flying Bomb.

Fieseler's love affair with flying began early. Born the son of a print factory owner near Bonn, he was building model aeroplanes at the age of 13.

In the years before the First World War, Fieseler was fascinated by those daring men in their usually self-constructed flying machines who gave spectacular demonstrations of aerobatics.

Despite bitter resistance from his father, who considered flying profitless and dangerous, Fieseler established contact with aviators.

At the beginning of the First World War, he volunteered for the German air force.

As a fighter-pilot, he shot down 19 enemy planes, thanks mainly to his brilliance at manoeuvring the cumbersome open-cockpit planes in the air. This success stood him in good stead later as a stunt pilot.

Fieseler was not only a brilliant pilot but a fine aeronautic engineer. He developed a special carburettor which enabled the planes of those days to fly upside down. Fieseler was the first to do a forward looping. He was also the first to fly the so-called fan-tower, the knife-turn and the Fieseler switch.

In his self-constructed "F-2 Tiger" he won several German, two European and one world championship in aerobatics between 1928 and 1934.

The long flowing F on the tail of his aircraft became his internationally famous trade mark.

In 1930, Fieseler took over an aircraft construction company in Kassel. Commercially, his company, which built giant gliders among other things, was not especially successful. Fieseler often had to pay his workers' salaries from fees for aerobatic performances and prize money.

His great breakthrough came in 1936, when his company developed the "Fi 156" in only six months.

This aircraft, a forerunner of the modern helicopter, could take off and land practically everywhere. In its first public demonstration, Fieseler's Stork — so called because of the very unusual high, thin chassis — took off and landed three times over 200 metres. This caused a worldwide sensation.

In the Second World War, the Fi 156 was deployed on all fronts as a multi-purpose aeroplane. Commanders on all sides used it to observe the progress of battles.

After the war, the Fieseler Storks were used as the first air taxis. Some of the 3,000 Storks built are now housed in internationally famous aviation museums. Others occupy pride of place in collections. And aviation fans sometimes fly them even today.

Fieseler also designed military aircraft for the planned first and only German aircraft carrier the Graf Zeppelin. The project came to nothing when the aircraft carrier was destroyed in a bomb attack.

Designer Fieseler was then pressed into competition with Germany's leading missile designer, Wernher von Braun. The task was to design automatically controlled flying bombs. Fieseler considered rockets too expensive.

He developed the V 1 — two-tonne flying bombs with a range of about 800 kilometres: 20,000 of them were deployed as retaliatory weapons against the British in the final phase of the Second World War.

Even though he was almost of pensionable age, Fieseler made a major contribution to the development of the German aviation industry after the war.

Franz Fegeler

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 26 April 1981)

■ THE ARTS

Expressionist collection goes on world-wide tour

Painter, writer and publisher Lothar Günther Buchheim has made good his threat to take his collection of expressionist paintings out of the Bavarian State Collection and show them in cities throughout the world.

The first exhibition qill be at the Cologne *Stadtmuseum* this month.

Buchheim admits that it is verging on madness to exhibit a collection as priceless and sensitive as his in various places throughout the world in the next two years. Strasbourg, Leningrad and Moscow are the next cities on the agenda.

And he adds: "Sometimes madness can be a good thing." The important thing is for people to see his collection.

Buchheim is fiercely critical of Erich Steingräber and the whole museum policy of Munich — symbolised by the recent opening of the Neue Pinakothek.

Steingräber had given him "a kick in the pants."

Buchheim cannot understand why the gigantic new museum is devoted only to the art of the 19th century.

Nonetheless, there are some points in favour of the Munich philosophy. After all, the *Alte Pinakothek* was reconstructed before the new one. Modern art, 20th century art, remains provisionally in the *Haus der Kunst*.

There are plans for a state gallery of modern art to be built in the Hofgarten — and not in the too distant future, as Education Minister Hans Maier has promised.

Classical modern art might then find itself moving into the *Neue Pinakothek*, with works of 19th century art having to squeeze up close to make room. Then Buchheim's expressionists would be in the *Neue Pinakothek*.

Museums are primarily concerned with the past. Contemporary art, as Werner Schmalenbach says, first has to prove itself against tough reality. Only when art has lived through this test can it be allowed to survive as Art with a capital A behind the protecting walls of museums. Museum for Contemporary Art is therefore self-contradictory.

Buchheim believes that the people of Munich are so incorrigibly conservative that they cannot even stand the sight of the expressionism of the Dresden Brücke group which forms the core of his collection.

Buchheim believes that this work is as explosively contemporary as ever.

He means this politically. The youth movement of today can recognise the Brücke — down to the finest details — as its predessors.

The Brücke group of artists lived in communes, turned their back on city and industrial life, went out to live amid nature in the countryside. This makes them of tremendous interest to the rejectors and drop-outs of modern society.

Kirchner, Heckel, Schmidt-Rottluff were not artists and painters but were technical university students, student architects. He said there was no place for their work in the Munich of today.

Buchheim: "I have seen that Munich could not be a home for this collection. The *föhn* climate of the pre-Alps is not favourable."

He says he could imagine the collection being housed in the Munich city gallery in the Lenbachhaus. But he does not believe this will happen.

Buchheim is now looking for a new museum to house his works. He says they ought to be on show in an industrial city such as Dresden or Chemnitz. It is impossible, for political reasons, to do this now.

Buchheim is a temperamental character. He does not weigh his words. However, when Otto Dix is criticised in the *Neue Pinakothek* for producing trivial art and not being able to form his material, one begins to share Buchheim's doubts.

Steingräber's press spokesman, Christian Lenz, said at a press conference: "There is hardly a single person in Dix's work with dignity. Is there no such thing as the dignity of man for him."

This was the myopic objection of the all-too-stolid middle classes against Dix from the beginning. Listening to it, all one can do is shake one's head. And Buchheim is right.

In Cologne, Buchheim is showing a representative cross-section of his work: 50 paintings and no fewer than 400 graphic works (drawings, water colours, woodcuts, etchings).

One of the main themes is Otto Dix's watercolours of the twenties. Dix's cycle of etchings, *Der Krieg*, is on display, together with the "Somme" cycle of Brücke expressionist Max Pechstein. In the magnificent 456-page catalogue, Buchheim writes this graphic commentary on Heckel's painting, *Am Waldteich:* "The young painters found a Saxon arcadia at the Moritzburg lakes. They lay with young girls naked beneath the summer sun in the reeds, swam, paid their tribute to Eros and lived in mystic union with nature. "They sketched the natural movements of their models, painted their bold ecstasies, produced new rhythms in their characters. Where composition so dictated, they deformed with total arrogance. The worked just as well in the open air as in their studios."



'Stehende Zigeunerin mit Kind' ('Standing gypsy woman ... child'). Otto Mueller, 1927. One of the Buchheim collection... (Photo: ...)

In sharp contrast to Munich, Cologne will be super-modern this year — in the tradition of the famous 1912 Sonderbund exhibition, the great debut of European expressionism.

The new international Cologne Exhibition is entitled *World Art - ... temporary Art: 1939—1981* and will ... from 29 May to 16 August.

The Buchheim collection will be ... welcome appetiser for this major ...

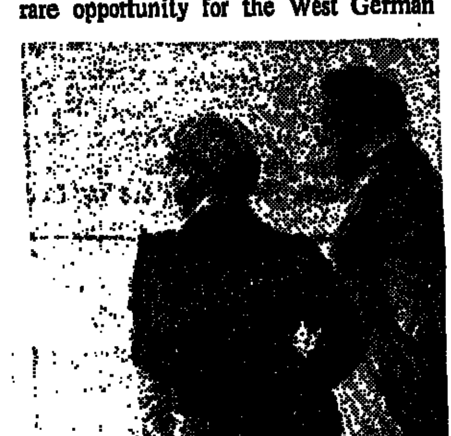
Karl Diem...

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 9 April 1...)

Menzel: prodigious output over three generations

The Kiel *Kunsthalle* is holding an exhibition of the work of Berlin painter Adolph Menzel.

After the ambitious retrospective of Menzel's work to mark the 65th anniversary of his death, this exhibition is a rare opportunity for the West German art-lover to study the work of a painter and graphic artist whose artistic life covered three generations.



'Die Kunstbetrachter'. Adolph Menzel, 1927.

A man who studied contemporary reality like a man obsessed and who immortalised the age of Frederiok the Great and of Prussia in painting.

The life-size photograph of Menzel at the entrance to the exhibition shows him to have been a small man — only 5 foot 4 inches tall.

The need to compensate for his size may have been the driving force behind his prodigious artistic output.

Menzel was a botaniser, an indefatigable documentarist, an observer who studied present and past in the quest for what was and what is.

He filled thousands of pages of tiny sketch books with tiny drawings, minute observations.

Theodor Fontane wrote a poem to mark Menzel's 70th birthday. In it, his Prussian majesty asks what Menzel is. The answer: "Menzel is a great deal, not to say everything; he is at least the entire Noah's Ark, animals and men: turkeys, geese, parrots, and ducks, Schwerin and Seydlitz, Leopold von Dessau, old Zieten, midwives, locksmiths, the Catholic Church, Italian plazas, shoelaces, bronze and iron works, rolling mills, town councillors with and without their golden chains of office, ill-tempered ministers in cashmere trousers, ostrich feathers, court balls, lobster mayonnaise, the Kaiser, Moltke, Countess Hacke, Bismarck . . ."

When Menzel died, aged 89, ... in Berlin, where he has spent ... his life, he left behind a small ... paintings but a staggering 6,000 ... ings, including his History of ... cycle, which enjoyed immense ... ty, thanks largely to better method... picture reproduction.

The Kiel exhibition contains ... 230 of Menzel's drawings, mainly ... the collections of Georg Schäfer ... Schweinfurt and the Bremen *Kunst...*

The best of these drawings are ... zel's studies, capturing reality ... sketches. Less impressive are the ... ings and the crayon drawings which ... often crammed with too much detail ...

The Menzel exhibition is sub... *Realists Chronicler and Court Painter* ...

These are distinctions which ...

Continued on page 11



Menzel's 'Treppe des Nymph... Dresden's Zwinger (Photo...)

BEHAVIOUR

Philosopher resigns from one post and is rejected for another

... Habermas, one of West Germa... most influential sociologists, has ... as director of the Max Planck ... of Social Research.

... Munich University has refused to ... Habermas to the honorary pro... ...ip for which he subsequently ...

... to be hoped that Baden-...berg will now summon up cou... appoint Habermas to the pro...ip he deserves. Otherwise he ... take up position abroad.

... German scholarship is not so full ... that the loss of a man of Habermas' stature would go unfelt. He is one of the few German professors with a world wide reputation. His socio-philosophical writings have been major contributions to international discussion of the future of Western industrial societies.

Even the neo-conservatives now riding on the crest of the wave often refer to him directly or indirectly in their speeches: 51-year-old Habermas is one of the leading thinkers of our time.

There are two main reasons for Habermas' resignation. One is that he could not make the appointments he wished to. Here, we have to go back into the history of the Institute for Research into the Conditions of the Technological and Scientific World, of which Habermas was co-director with Carl-Friedrich von Weizsäcker until the latter resigned.

It was not possible to find a suitable successor for von Weizsäcker, and so the Max Planck Society decided to build the institute around Habermas.

Four former colleagues of von Weizsäcker were given notice on grounds of inadequate qualifications. They decided to fight against their dismissals and won their cases.

Habermas was forced to accept the four, although he did not consider their qualifications adequate.

This was an ominous snag at the outset. But Habermas was also involved in another irritating dispute. Like other Max Planck scholars, he applied for an honorary university professorship so that he could combine research with teaching.

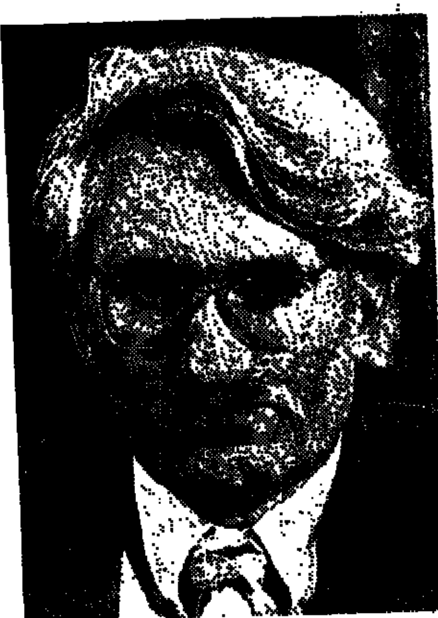
It was understandable that Habermas should turn to his alma mater, Munich — as regular travel to Frankfurt University, where he taught for many years, would have been time-consuming.

But the Munich University authorities were not interested. His first application, just after he had come to Starnberg from Frankfurt at the beginning of the seventies, failed. His second application was dealt with dilatorily and uncooperatively, reason enough for a sensitive and internationally-known scholar to withdraw his application rather than seem to be a tiresome petitioner.

Left-winger Habermas chose Bavaria of all places, the bastion of the right-wing CSU, as a new forum for his academic research after he had left Frankfurt. This was partly out of disappointment at the failure of the student movement for which he had supplied many of the arguments.

His writings — *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit, Erkenntnis und Interesse* and *Technik und Wissenschaft als Ideologie* — were works which prompted many students to rebel in the late sixties and later.

By the time the extra-parliamentary opposition crumbled blind activism began to dominate and the first generation of terrorists went underground, his work had ceased to provide justification but was nonetheless used as a quarry for arguments.



Jürgen Habermas (Photo: dpa)

It is ironic that it was Habermas who had first warned against the dangers of irrationalism. He had never described the democratic state as "fascist". On the contrary, he stuck to the idea and the claims of rational discourse.

His dream of communication without domination — which was reflected in the reform policies of the Brandt government — his optimistic ideal of emancipation, developed from the best impulses of the Enlightenment and of German Idealism may remain utopian but is deeply democratic in the Kantian sense.

At any rate it is a dream which does not justify terror. It should be under stood as a call to free societies to move non-violently towards their inherent goal — equal participation in power.

Joachim Worthmann

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 18 April 1981)

Continued from page 10

... his work, though of course the ...lines between the three areas are ...early defined, often fluid.

... his study sketches, his *Armeewerk* ... his sketches of court balls show, ...zel's compositions generally consist... of precisely drawn details, though in ... later work there is a tendency ...ards dilettantism.

There is no great idea, no shattering ...ight or emotion in Menzel's work. ... strength is precise observation, re...ds of his time using the contrast be...en black and white. His work in...des impressive portraits, drawings of ...ads — for which the artists often had ... stand on a stool — and sketches for ...ntings which are valuable studies in ... own right...

Finally, there are private pictures of his sister's family, with which confirmed bachelor Menzel lived.

Menzel, who in his lifetime was the most famous artist in Prussia, has no socially or emotionally committed message to offer. Despite his Rolling Mill, Dead Hussar, Menzel merely regarded his age and that of Frederick the Great as an unlimited reservoir for components of his sketches and paintings.

Today, a century later, we can judge Menzel's work more dispassionately and objectively, and recognize him for the realist he — at least in part — was.

A realist who sometimes pinpointed the truth behind the things he depicted so objectively.

Ursula Bode

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 9 April 1981)

The electronic influence

Possible effects of the new electronic media on reading habits was one of the topics of a conference in Constance.

The "traditional literary discussions" were organised by the Book Association and publishers from Austria, Switzerland and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Among topics discussed were whether reading itself should be re-defined and what the reader of the future will be like.

Speakers included Viennese writer György Sebestyen, Gerd Bacher, general director of Austrian TV, Michael Wegner of the Mannheim Bibliographical Institute and Professor Dr Leo Schürmann, General Director of the Swiss Television and Radio Company.

dpa

(Nordwest Zeitung, 23 April 1981)

German books: no demand in America

The Deutsche Haus at New York University and the German Book Trade Association are jointly holding a German Week in New York.

The main attraction is an exhibition of 1,000 new books from West Germany, Austria and Switzerland. Also on the programme are readings by Max Frisch, Reinhard Lettau, Walter Kempowski and H.C. Artmann.

As usual on such occasions, it was pointed out how little interest American reviewers and readers show in foreign literature.

West German publishers — the bosses of the Suhrkamp and Hanser publishing houses attended the exhibition — asked how German literature could achieve popularity comparable with that of the modern German cinema.

Their questions went unanswered. The fact that Fassbinder, Schlöndorff and Herzog are better known in the USA than Bodo Strauss, Kempowski and Thomas Bernhard was described as inexplicable but inevitable.

Günter Grass, it was noted, was an exception to this rule of apparently invincible ignorance. This did not seem to console the complainers, though.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 23 April 1981)

■ MEDICINE

Student exam row erupts: two challenge results in court

Hannoversche Allgemeine

Two medical students are challenging their examinations results in court.

- In Frankfurt students invaded the medical school with a mixture of threats and stones.
- In Hamburg, a group of students has drawn up a list of what they see as shortcomings in the latest set of examinations.

The trouble stems from dissatisfaction over medical examinations set by the Institute for Medical and Pharmaceutical Examinations (IMPP) in Mainz, which has sweeping powers over the destinies of medical students.

According to the Hamburg list, many questions are imprecise and cause misunderstandings.

The students say that the descriptions of symptoms are either inexact or much too specialised for students who are expected to give clear answers.

In some cases, runs the argument, textbooks themselves vary in their approach. In others, no answers have yet been evolved by the medical profession.

One of the court cases concerns a question about a fracture: does this particular fracture in a hand bone require a circular cast extending to the upper arm? Or is a cast on the lower arm, including parts of the hand and thumb, enough?

The plaintiff chose the second option — wrong, said the examiners. But the student has the support of several medical professors.

One is surgeon Hans Willenegger: "The standard treatment in this case is as the student described."

In the second case, another student is contesting a question involving surgery preparation for cancer of the rectum.

In Frankfurt, when students invaded the medical school, Hans Joachim Kraemer, head of the IMPP, removed the name-plate from his head office and instituted strict checks of visitors.

Threats were made and stones hurled against the building's glass door.

The pent-up anger is bound to let off even more steam in the days to come as details of the latest series of exams become known.

The national average of failures was 56 per cent, and as high as 80 per cent at some medical schools such as Hanover.

Some 4,700 students nation-wide failed the decisive examinations taken after the fourth semester.

The average failure rate in previous years was less than 20 per cent, and the present dramatic increase is indicative of shortcomings in the medical training system.

In fact, even the decision on who may or may not study medicine is a gamble.

The first "test for medical studies" last August led to a wave of protests by people who had been on the waiting list for ages and who were stripped of their chances of getting a place at medical school through the new system that combines an aptitude test with the drawing of lots.

Today, says Karsten Vilmar, the president of the German Medical Association, it is not medical ability, motivation and bedside manner that guarantee the completion of medical studies but the ability to acquire knowledge that will answer questions quickest.

While earlier medical students had to demonstrate their knowledge verbally, for the past ten years they have been answering questionnaires similar to those used for driving licences. These multiple choice tests provide a selection of answers, one of which — the correct one — has to be ticked.

The IMPP multiple-choice test, which is reset for every examination, contains 320 questions.

But some of the questions don't have the right answers to go with them.

The medical test is to many a layman reminiscent of the doctor who tells his patient on the other end of the telephone to cough once or twice so that he can make a diagnosis.

The realisation is spreading among students and doctors that there is something very wrong with performance controls at our medical schools. One student describes it as "thinking in terms of crossword puzzles" while another holds that "as long as we are expected to prepare ourselves for ambiguous exam questions instead of acquiring practical experience and skills we shall continue to be trained as theoreticians of medicine rather than practitioners."

This spring's scandal has made the Bonn Health Ministry (which commissioned the tests) and the Social Affairs Ministries of the *Länder* is insecure as it has made the IMPP itself.

Until 1979, a pass required 50 per cent correct answers. But a student would also pass if his performance was not worse than 18 per cent of the national average.

But then, under pressure from professors who feared a lowering of standards for the new generation of doctors and, of course, under the impact of an ever-rising number of students the ministries decided to change the procedure. Now, students must answer 60 per cent of the questions correctly and the 18 per cent clause has been abolished altogether. Last year, when 25 per cent of the students failed, there was talk of a "mishap". But after the recent flood of protests, IMPP's Kraemer decided that something had to be done and appealed to Bonn to reintroduce the 18 per cent clause — preferably retroactively.

Quite apart from the legal dubiousness of the examination system, the politicians concerned put the blame on the IMPP.

Berlin's Health Senator Reinhard Überhorst has already intimated that the city's health administrations intend to put the ball back into the IMPP's court. He termed the testing methods "dubious" while students called a spade a spade, saying that the test was very complicated, that the proportion of familiar questions has diminished and that combination questions linking several possible solutions have increased.

The bare bones: medical lecture at Bonn's Friedrich [...] University. (Photo: [...])

One of the students who fai[...] exam thought that the IMPP ha[...] one-sided advice from the doctor[...] by, which is not exactly anxious t[...] even more competition.

Kraemer rejects this sort of [...] tion. Last year, when his multiple[...] tests first came under fire, he [...] that there were items that shoul[...] been struck from the list of que[...] but stuck to his guns over the pr[...] of the system.

"Regardless of the system," he s[...] the time, "there will alway[...] wrinkles."

The way things now [...] wrinkles will have to be ironed [...] court.

Reinhard Ur[...]

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 14 April [...])

External artificial heart 'ready to save lives'



An artificial heart developed by a team of doctors and technicians of Aachen and Düsseldorf Universities might save a life before the end of the year.

Animal experiments after 13 years of research work have shown that the "Aachen-Düsseldorf Blood Pump" (this is the official name of the device) could keep a calf alive for 24 hours, doing the work of the natural heart. The animal's own heart then resumes work.

Several universities have been working on artificial hearts for years to enable a patient to live pending a heart transplant.

In Berlin, calves lived for six months with artificial hearts, and preparations are being made in Salt Lake City to use the device with humans.

The Aachen-Düsseldorf team, unlike the American researchers, believes in an external artificial heart.

Says professor Holger Schmid-Schönbein, one of the team members: "Our machine stays outside the body. It is linked by tubes. The natural heart is to remain where it is, and the machine will take over its work only until it has sufficiently recovered to continue its natural function."

This fundamental decision was made years ago by the Düsseldorf heart surgeon Ernst Derra.

The reasons for the decision are of a medical-technical nature, though ethical considerations also enter the picture.

Most of the doctors on the team consider that an artificial heart implanted in the body is inhuman. They hold that it is intolerable for a person to have to live with such a machine inside him, never knowing when it would malfunction.

The Aachen-Düsseldorf team originally though that a heart machine for temporary use would be easier to develop than a device that has to be implanted. But now they realise that the opposite is true.

Professor Schmid-Schönbein: "If the natural heart is not to be injured because it is expected to resume its normal work as soon as possible, it is very difficult to hook up the necessary tubes."

The blood pump has been developing quickly ever since the German Research Community (DFG) established its [...] cial research department for [...] organs in 1973 and 30 cardio[...] began their work on the blood [...]

Apart from the heart surgeons [...] by Professor Bruno Messmer the [...] also includes cardiologists, physi[...] and institutes for hydraulic and pn[...] tic propulsion, for electrical engin[...] plastics processing and bio-m[...] technology.

Tests by the Institute for Ae[...] mics ensured the normal flow of [...] The animal experiments are head[...] Professor of Surgery Gunther Arnd[...]

There are still considerable pr[...] facing the team, among them: ho[...] to hook up the tubes and how m[...] lief to provide for the natural [...] without risking problems with the [...] metabolism and the blood supply [...] heart.

Another uncertainty is which [...] two models developed so fa[...] with a different propulsion [...] — is safest and least damag[...] blood.

The new machine is to be [...] marily with people who ha[...] heart attack and to provide [...] surgery.

The problem with heart op[...] that the heart must contin[...] and cannot heal as wuickly a[...] The new system is intended [...] workloads.

Horst Zimm[...]

(Bremer Nachrichten, 21 A[...])

■ SOCIETY

Mulling over posers of culture orientation and development

The latest Mainau talks again attracted a formidable round of eloquent university professors — most of them somewhat aged — in search of a "measured and detached approach".

"There is a boom in orientation debates", said Hermann Lübbe, a philosopher who has gladly exchanged his German university chair for one in Zurich.

But it is this very "measured and detached approach" which the Mainau round found deplorably missing in our youth.

Here it was above all Professor Lübbe, looking at his home country from abroad — across the fence, so to speak — who conceded that both old and young are overtaxed in today's society because the cultural changes in the waning years of the century were so fast as to make it almost impossible to adapt.

And since the main culprit, the natural sciences, was least capable of predicting its own speed of development ("If we knew what we would be thinking tomorrow, we would think it today already"), we have all unwittingly and together slithered into a situation of no exit and no direction.

Paul Leyhausen, a Wuppertal professor of animal behaviour (though at home also with the human variety), put it rather bluntly when he said: "Handed-down standards no longer apply even within one generation."

The two days of talks provided ample proof of this contention.

The fact that even middle-aged parents are unable to recognise their own school in that of their children is an old chestnut by now. Nobody knows where the limits of rapid adaptation to the social environment lie — let alone changes in other aspects of the environment.

Why is our current culture so past-oriented? Why are we so obsessed with cultivating national monuments? In all likelihood because the present has nothing better to offer and because the old remains a tried and proven quantity.

But the topic of the talks was our youth and our experiments with it.

Here, the discussion not only seized upon the "absurd circus of university legislation" but on the equally absurd education experiments of the anti-authoritarians, a sort of counterbalance to the authority obsession of the Third Reich.

Heidelberg psychiatrist Manfred Muller-Küppers spoke of "child abuse". He said that practitioners were unable in extreme cases to differentiate between a child with physical brain damage and one that was a victim of anti-authoritarian upbringing. Both could be equally incapable of learning.

There was talk of an "oral-passive expectation attitude", of the refusal of educationalists to recognise differences of talent. This, some of the participants at Mainau contended, made schoolchildren regard reports as an act of violence.

One of the professors cited a doctor who was unable to refuse anything to his little son, which led to the ridiculous situation where the boy carried a filled feeding bottle complete with teat around his neck.

As a result of the constant sucking, the child's teeth had parted, but the father did not mind, trusting in the "limitless ability of dental medicine to fix everything."

The father was convinced that the physical damage was easier to bear than the damage that would have resulted from the denial of food at any given moment. Small surprise, then, that children who have not learned to forgo anything "clench the left hand into a fist, stretching out the right with open palm."

Hans Schaefer, a father figure of German physiology and medicine and, together with his Heidelberg colleague Johannes Schlemmer, one of the gurus of the Mainau round, diagnosed: "Youth demands everything from our state while rejecting it as an element of order."

Jürgen von Troschke (a medical sociologist) on the other hand held that the refusal to recognise the state's authority was more widespread than demands against the state but that there were many mixed forms of this attitude.

What is to be done? Almost every answer to this question was emotional — as usual when generations as a whole feel that they are under attack.

Some said that the young had to be made to understand that democracy required social maturity ("If everybody only wants to take, who is to give?").

MP Horst Waffenschmidt (CDU) even went so far as to admit: "We politicians are courageous only when we can be sure of jubilant approval. Therefore the state must be bolstered at times when it is unable to be a providing father."

The generation of fathers and grandfathers whose youth was marked almost exclusively by denial was in full agreement with the Constance economist Holger Bonus who said that all unjustified demands must be denied by the individual and the state.

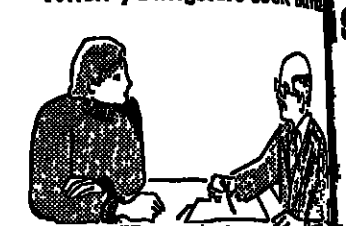
Exemplary figures above all, he said, should be able to say no.

Students are virtually begging for "ideology, escaping authority by withdrawing into sects."

Still, full of the memories of wrong leaders, the round suggested the most modest and yet effective way out: personal example in small groups which still make up our social fabric.

And nobody should point an accusing finger at our young because they are subject to the same exigencies as their fathers and mothers. Instead, everybody should become part of society and be willing to perform his share in modesty, thus swimming against the stream.

When youngsters seek advi



People over 55 are asked for advice by young people (%):

Often	Seldom	Never
31	42	27

Questions asked involve:

Job training	35
Opinions of others	33
Housekeeping	27
Marriage problems	24
Old-age pensions	23
Politics	19

(Verband der Lebensversicherungs-Unternehmen e. V.)

As one sociologist put it: "Venera... and responsibility ethics in lieu of i... logy ethics."

A mouthful? Not at all. One the... put forward in Mainau stated: "The... more of that which we have in com... that we stand to lose than we could p... sibly gain in a distribution struggle. H... are we really unable to adapt our exp... ence of 35 years of peace and afflue... to future needs? Are individuals in... able of adapting their demands to n... ties?"

Is it possible that we are that blin...

Georg Kleeman...

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 23 April 1...)

Senator stands firm on reformatory reforms

Hamburg's Social Affairs Senator Jan Ehlers is determined to stick to his guns and do away with closed reformatories for juvenile delinquents.

The other day he received the following letter from an open home for boys: "Yesterday evening we read an article in the *Hamburger Abendblatt*. It said that some people have suddenly become worried because children's prisons are to be done away with. Do these characters know what happens to those who are constantly locked up?

"They land exactly where they're not supposed to land. For every one of us who got locked up, living among the pimps and pros and queers and drug addicts or hobos was a thousand times better than being inside."

Ehlers is now determined to open what still remains of closed juvenile correctional institutions because, as he says, they have been unsuccessful in rehabilitating and reintegrating young people.

This would only officially implement what has already been done in many formerly closed institutions for boys and girls, where most inmates are being held for frequently running away from "normal" reformatories where they were kept behind bars and locked doors.

Ehlers' decision has met with opposition. CDU City Councillor Eleonore Rudolph held that "anybody who does away with closed reformatories acts negligently."

Juvenile judges also have their reservations. Though they are essentially in favour of opening these institutions, they want to ensure that juvenile delinquents awaiting trial are not locked up with other people on remand but put in closed institutions where they will have educationalists looking after them.

The police also oppose the opening of reformatories for fear that escaped youngsters whom they have managed to apprehend would only escape again and their work would thus start from scratch.

Proponents of open institutions have put forward the following educational and legal arguments:

- All educational efforts are doomed in the conditions that prevail in closed reformatories. The young people cannot be prepared for a life in freedom and for independence. Instead, they acquire techniques suitable only for conditions behind bars.
- Judges order juveniles locked up only when it can be assumed that a young person will commit another crime. But criminal law provides for prison terms only for those who have been sentenced after due process of law. Prison prior to the commission of and sentence for a crime is restricted to a few particularly serious cases only.

Regarding escapes and assumed Commission of new crimes, a study by the Hamburg Police School is encouraging inasmuch as it shows that of 200 youngsters who ran away from their families or institutions, 176 went straight.

The crimes of the others were in most cases (60 per cent) of a rather minor nature such as petty larceny within the family, shoplifting, using public transport without a ticket, etc. There were only three cases of breaking and entering and one case of blackmail.

One formerly notorious reformatory for girls which is now an open institution shows that the number of escapes have diminished and that, should they occur, the girls return voluntarily af... short while. Incidentally, the police s... dy arrives at similar conclusions.

The most frequent reason for runni... away is fear of punishment and trying... escape an intolerable situation.

A paper prepared by the Social We... fare Department states: "Signs of de... struction in formerly closed tractd re... formatories show that being locked up... considered unbearable. And the fear o... even stiffer measures after running aw... and being returned to an institutio... prompts the youngsters to try and su... vive outside in any way that presents... self, thus heightening the danger th... exists in such a situation."

Today, inmates of this girls' reforma... tory express themselves positively i... way unthinkable ten years ago. Said o... of them in a radio interview: "Earlie... used to loaf. Now I do my schoolwork... find it nice here and, to tell you t... truth, I don't want to leave at all."

Says another girls: "Locking up it d... After all, we're not animals. We're p... ple and should be accepted as such."

But the girls are bitter about the... judices they meet with everywhe... prejudices that frequently prevent th... from getting an apprenticeship.

After much polemicising, the Ha... burg controversy over reformatories... seems to have become more busin... like.

Notwithstanding its criticism of... traditional reformatories, the CDU... to continue the old system of clo... stitutions. Its experts hold that on... type of reformatory enables som... youngsters to get used to a room... cher and a group and so find so... to hold on to.

The Public Prosecutor's Office... delving into the matter. It is con... charging a reformatory from w... young girl escaped with neglect... pervision. The Social Welfare... ment hopes that it won't come to...

Karste...

(Der Tagesspiegel, 16 Ap...)

SPORT

Manager philosophical as draw puts Bayern out of European Cup

Bayern-Munich were eliminated from the European Cup because they had ...n afraid and lacked concentration, ...ording to their manager, Pal Csernai.

Bayern drew the second leg in the ...i-final against Liverpool 1-1 in Mu...h after drawing the first leg 0-0 in Liverpool.

Because goals scored away from home ...t double, Liverpool go through to ...e final.

The end of Bayern's dreams of winning the European Cup for the fourth ...e after 1974, 1975 and 1976 came in ...e eighty-third minute when Ray Kennedy coolly kicked home a Dave Johnson pass to give Liverpool a 1-0 lead. ...is left Bayern needing to score two goals.

Confused, helpless and overwhelmed ...y the situation, wracked by self-doubts, Bayern never looked capable of taking ...e tie.

Two minutes from the end, Karl-Heinz Rummenigge pounced on a defensive error to score the equaliser and save Bayern from its first-ever home defeat in European competition.

But this satisfaction was entirely statistical.

Liverpool played far better in this second leg before a capacity 78,000 crowd (gate receipts DM2.1m) than in the home leg at Anfield a fortnight previously. No longer did they punt hopeful balls in the direction of the Munich penalty area.

And they varied their zonal marking system by putting midfielder Sammy Lee on Bayern danger-man Paul Breitner. The ploy worked.

Not only this. They were without first team regulars Thompson and Alan Kennedy. And eight minutes after the start, their star forward Kenny Dalglish limped off injured.

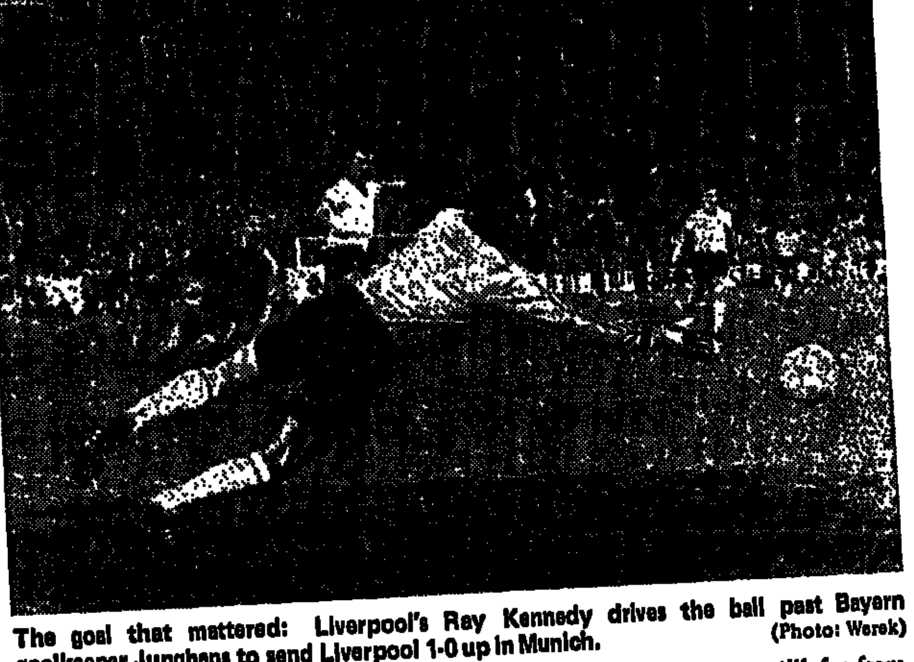
After the game, Bayern ace Karl-Heinz Rummenigge described himself as "sick as a parrot."

Striker Dieter Hoeness said his world had fallen apart.

Breitner was more matter-of-fact: "If you make mistakes like we didn you can expect to get beaten."

Attacking defender Dürnberger said: "We were all dreadfully off form."

The Bayern players left the stadium with their psyches ruffled, because they had drawn but still been eliminated; because they had kissed goodbye to a lot of money (DM10,000 for reaching the final, DM30,000 for winning the European Cup); and because they simply could not understand why they had played so badly when the glittering prize was within their grasps.



The goal that mattered: Liverpool's Ray Kennedy drives the ball past Bayern goalkeeper Junghans to send Liverpool 1-0 up in Munich. (Photo: Werek)

They thought they were going to stroll into the final.

Csernai was more philosophical. He blamed fear of taking on responsibility for his team's hesitant, slow and static play in the first half. The game improved in the second but was still far from brilliant.

In the dressing room at half time, Csernai told his team: "They way you are playing now you'd be pushed to beat an average *Bundesliga* team."

After the game, Csernai was a bitterly disappointed man but his main aim was to hide his disappointment. I talked to him after a press conference in the gloomy dressing room corridor. And some of his real feelings came through.

Csernai said he was a realist and had learnt to keep his emotions under control. His painful efforts to keep a stiff upper lip were not, however, wholly successful. He told me he had wanted to be even more matter-of-fact at the press conference.

Not that he had not been matter of fact. Far from it.

He had spoken coolly, refusing to blame defender Klaus Augenthaler for the mistake which led to Kennedy's goal. Csernai could not express his disappointment as openly as his players. To survive his after-match disappointment, he was determined to give the impression that he was a tough, cool, unflappable professional.

He is certainly not to blame. He rook risks, playing three men — Del'Haye, Hoeness and Rummenigge — up front and even bringing on a fourth striker — Janzon for Dürnberger — in the 57th minute.

But he did not succeed in taking the fear out of his team's play: "They did not want to make any mistakes and that precisely why they made more than ever before."

This is true and says it all about a semi-final which improved in the second half but was never a classic.

Liverpool, no better and no worse than Bayern, had been written off after the first leg — by both English football followers and by Bayern.

After the game, Liverpool midfielder Graeme Souness made an unscheduled appearance in the Munich dressing room and gave a V-sign which could be interpreted in more ways than one, grinning impishly all the time. The gesture was typical of the total commitment of Liverpool's play.

They had nothing to lose. But they were determined to prove that they were no pushovers as some had said only a fortnight ago.

They succeeded.

Kurt Röttgen

(Die Welt, 24 April 1981)

Record broken in women's marathon championship

Charlotte Teske set a German record when she won the national marathon title in Orsoy, south-west Germany in 2 hours 33 minutes 13 seconds.

Her world-class time was 74.8 seconds better than the former record if Christa Vahlensieck, of Barmen, which was once also the world record.

Vahlensieck herself ran second to Teske in 2hr 35min 27sec, her second best time over the distance.

The men's marathon was won by Ralf Salzmann in 2hr 15min 42sec.

...ice to be a winner: Charlotte Teske and Ralf Salzmann after their respective wins in the national men's and women's marathon championships. (Photo: Werek)

Teske came to marathon running late. She has only run the distance four times. Her first was five years ago, when she ran 2 hours, 59 mins 36 seconds.

And after it she swore she would never run a marathon again.

Times change and she has changed her mind. Looking back, she admits that she was not prepared for her first marathon. Then, the 3,000 metres were the longest officially-recognised distance for women. And interest in road-running was nothing like as great as it is today.

Her aim was to compete and perform well in the European, Championships in Athens next year. And this year she will be concentrating her efforts on the European Cup.

She says it is too early at the moment to think about the 1984 Olympics.

Frau Teske has been on a German Sports Council grant for the past year.

But even before that she and her husband, Dieter, had made sacrifices for the sake of her running career. She now only works half-days, so that she can train twice a day in the woods around Darmstadt.

Her husband is a chemist at Darmstadt University, and her major financial backer.

"As long as I can afford it, I'm only too glad to help her," he says.

Women marathon runners train just as hard as men. At peak competition periods, they run up to 200 kilometres a week. With this kind of training programme, a normal full-time job is virtually out of the question.

Ralf Salzmann, winner of the men's marathon in 2 hours 15 mins 42 secs, realised this last year. But it took him 11 months to get a transfer in his job as policeman. He had been doing shift work in and around Frankfurt. Now he is working in his home area of Kassel.

Hesse Interior Minister Ekkehard Griess personally approved Salzmann's transfer. Salzmann's police superiors wanted to turn down his appication.

Salzmann's time of 2 hours 15 mins is not world-shattering but he is now only in his third year in top competition.

The world is now his oyster.

Salzmann was sick after the race — not because of the strain but because he unwisely took a concentrated vitamin drink en route.

By then Charlotte Teske was rela... in the bath.

Robert Hartm...

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 27 A...)